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younger, but genealogies give none of his three wives as related to Tuliayanga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ikilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wokir. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Alatakapa. Tuiva took the youth Ikilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ikilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally induced into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ikilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

[622] Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Tuliayanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ikilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ikilua nominated her adopted son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepeu, blood son of Ikilua and Uliga, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Lota. Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawa, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Metua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (*yala*), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepeu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Lota.

Pepeu was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Matalihi and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepeu were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amicable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

[721] When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawaui, a man now about 100 years old. Nawaui insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawaui's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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## WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *wale* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale lahou*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale wakayawao* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*eevanga po*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuna, who,

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by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuiseu and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Tasa. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waleton (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kasa* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Mufiwutu and i Tua, united as the *uai tasoa* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamaunga and Yayi, were together the *muli kasa* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kasa* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organised for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga.* *Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.